

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 141287

EXDIS FOR UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM AND USDEL

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 02260, ACTION SECSTATE 03 JUNE

QUOTE O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 02260

EXDIS

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: XA, XJ, CG, OAU, SREF, BE, FR

SUBJECT: A CENTRAL AFRICAN CONFERENCE

1. THE EMERGING REACTIONS TO THE FRENCH-INITIATED  
CONFERENCE NEXT WEEK RAISE SERIOUS CONCERN THAT THE  
FURTHER WE GO IN THE FRENCH-BELGIAN EFFORT TO MEET THE  
CRITICAL PROBLEMS IN SHABA/ZAIRE THE MORE WE RISK  
POLARIZATION THAT WILL HURT US IN AFRICA. AN INTER-  
NATIONAL FORCE FOR SHABA, AS IT APPEARS TO BE DEVELOP-  
ING WITH LARGELY FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN PARTICIPATION,  
RISKS A DEEP SPLIT IN THE OAU. WESTERN BACKING FOR  
BOTH THE FORCE AND THE ECONOMIC SALVAGE JOB IN ZAIRE  
RISKS CONFRONTATION WITH MOST OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE  
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MOBUTU IN AFRICA, AND WITH THEIR BLOC SUPPORTERS--  
GIVING AN EAST-WEST CAST TO THE REACTION. US AND  
WESTERN INVOLVEMENT IN THIS PATTERN WILL STRIKE TOO  
MANY AFRICANS AS A THROWBACK TO PAST ERAS, WHEN  
WHITE COLONIALISTS WERE WILLING TO TAKE ANY ACTIONS  
TO PROTECT THEIR RESOURCES AND FINANCIAL INVESTMENTS.

2. THERE SEEMS TO BE NO FEASIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO SWIFT ACTION TO REESTABLISH SECURITY IN SHABA SO THAT PRODUCTION THERE CAN RESUME. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CONSIDER PERMANENT USE OF EUROPEAN FORCES. THEREFORE, THE AFRICAN FORCE CONTEMPLATED BY THE FRENCH APPEARS TO BE THE BEST WE CAN HOPE FOR AT THE MOMENT. WE MUST WORK TO MAKE THE PARIS AND BRUSSELS MEETINGS SUCCESSFUL.

3. WE FEEL STRONGLY, HOWEVER, THAT WE MUST SEEK SOME MEANS TO DISTANCE OURSELVES FROM FRENCH LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA AND FROM BASICALLY EUROPEAN SALVAGE OPERATION IN ZAIRE THAT HAS LIMITED CHANCES OF SUCCESS. WE URGE THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO A DRAMATIC US STATEMENT AND CALL FOR TRULY INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROBLEMS OF CENTRAL AFRICA. TIMING IS DEBATABLE IN RELATION TO THE PARIS AND SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS, BUT STATEMENT SHOULD COME SOON IF IT IS TO PREVENT POLARIZATION OF THE SITUATION AND DAMAGE TO OUR LONGER-TERM CREDIBILITY AND CAPACITY FOR LEADERSHIP AMONG AFRICANS.

4. THE STATEMENT SHOULD:

-PLACE US OBJECTIVES IN A LARGER FRAMEWORK THAN THE BAIL-OUT OPERATION IN ZAIRE.  
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-SET FORTH AN OPEN, OBJECTIVE SUMMARY OF THE POLITICAL DILEMMAS CONFRONTING THE WORLD IN CENTRAL AFRICA, INCLUDING MOBUTU'S NEED TO REFORM, THE CROSS-BORDER HOSTILITIES KEPT ALIVE BY BOTH ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, THE PROBLEMS OF REFUGEES, ESPECIALLY KATANGAN, THE EAST-WEST POTENTIAL IN THE SITUATION, ETC.

-LAY DOWN US OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES IN RELATION TO THE CENTRAL AFRICAN PROBLEM: PARTICULARLY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, RESPECT FOR FRONTIERS, STABILITY FOR INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT AND NON-POLITICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS FROM THE OUTSIDE.

-PROPOSE A SENIOR-LEVEL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TO BE HELD AT AN APPROPRIATE AFRICAN CAPITAL UNDER AFRICAN SPONSORSHIP.

5. THE MAIN THRUST OF THIS SUGGESTION IS TO PROJECT A US POSITION THAT WILL BE VIABLE IN AFRICA, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME BROADENING THE BASE OF AFRICAN RESPONSIBILITY.

BILITY FOR THEIR OWN PROBLEMS. YOUNG UNQUOTE. CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** SREF, PEPR, XA, XJ, CG, BE, FR, US, OAU  
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